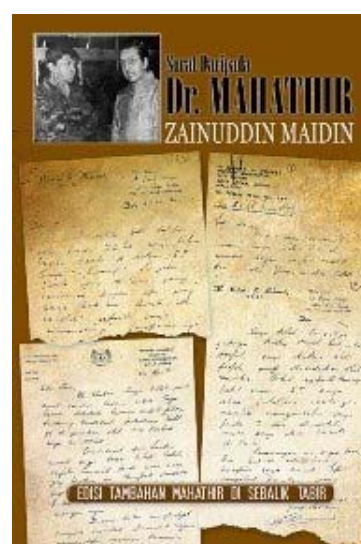
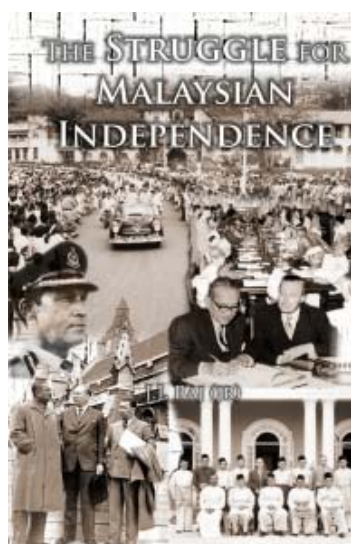
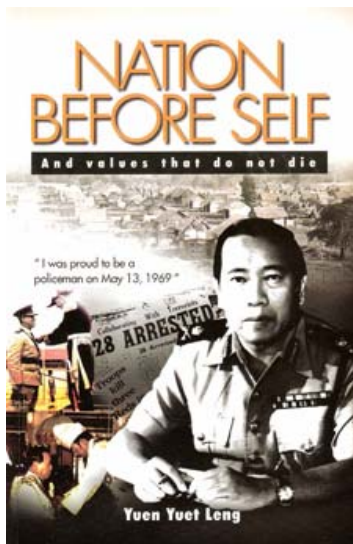
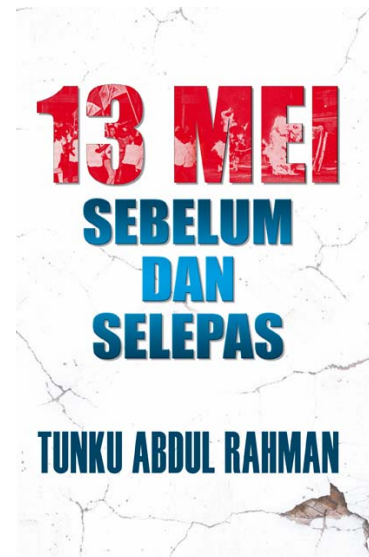
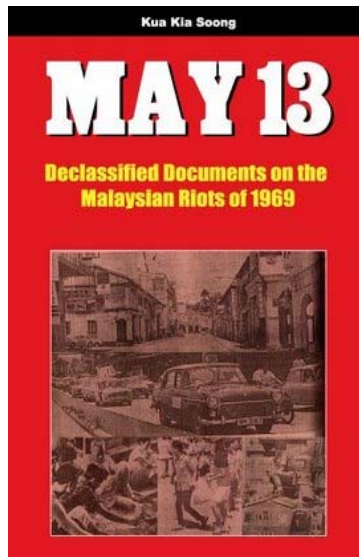
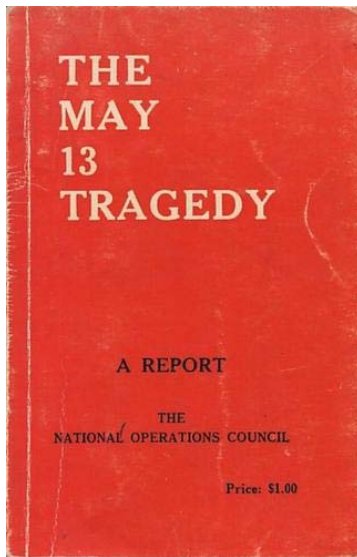


# THE 13<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1969 RACIAL RIOTS

## The True and Fair View



Analysis by:  
*Jebat Must Die*

It has been 40 years since the bloody riots of 1969. Today, I would like to offer my prayers to the people that had lost their lives in that fateful day. Many have talked about what had happened. Many books were published. Many theses and opinions were written to elaborate and discuss the events prior, during and after the incident.

Some say that this bloody blotch in our history books should be a lesson learned. Some say we should bury this ghost of our past. Some even made the effort to distort history by misrepresenting the facts.

Three weeks ago, the Regent of Perak [put to task people who write destructive political books](#) in order to satisfy their own selfish agenda. His Majesty had commented on something that is very crucial in highlighting the despicable act of rewriting our history to fit a certain ulterior motive. What more, all the so-called facts presented in the books are highly presumptuous, misguided and intended only to achieve a divisive propaganda.

One such book that I would like to highlight is the book by Dr Kua Kia Soong entitled : "Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969".

From reading the book, readers will ultimately come to three conclusions:

- 1) Tun Abdul Razak masterminded the May 13 racial riots as a form of coup d'état from Tunku Abdul Rahman**
- 2) Datuk Harun Idris led Umno Youths to spontaneously launched an unprovoked attack towards the chinese people**
- 3) The racial riots were not the fault of the racist opposition or the subversive communist movement**

These are the conclusions the author of the said book would like his readers to believe. He strengthened his thesis by providing several dockets of 'declassified documents' in his book.

Now, from the term 'declassified document', what does a layman normally associate it with?

It must have been a top secret document sanctioned by the government to be kept as classified and confidential from the eyes of the public. It must have been documents with valid and unshakable truths that are so damning, it would have been prudent to be kept as a secret. Correct?

But as you read the book, these 'declassified documents' were nothing more than articles taken from the now defunct Far Eastern Economic Review magazine. Its writer, a journalist named Bob Reece communicated directly with the FEER's HQ in London and British High Commission.

These documents were 'obtained' by Kua Kia Soong from the Public Records Office in Kew Gardens, London – and so he stated in his book.

In fact, these were the documents deemed by Kua Kia Soong as the priceless 'declassified documents'. They have no intrinsic value and were not data laden with factual analyses except to notify the readers that the documents were actually, only a personal opinion of a British journalist!

Kua Kia Soong rubbished all the investigative research and study of the White Paper of the NOC on what actually had happened. He relied mainly on Bob Reece's writings and dispatches between foreign correspondents.

If he thinks that his book is a thorough research and also the definitive version of what had really happened 40 years ago, then he is gravely mistaken.

This book can safely be classified as a highly prejudice book vent on achieving a specific propaganda which is detrimental to the nation's social harmony. Why do I say that? Please refer to the three ~~hes~~ conclusions above.

This article came about from what Raja Nazrin had said three weeks ago:

*If this trend continues to grow, I fear that it will create an unhealthy writing culture, a writing culture which nurtures lies, a writing culture which is unethical and ready to ignore fact, and one that will have a negative influence on the development of the people's minds.*

And this article will try its best to straighten and debunk the propaganda which had been swimming within the minds of the ignorant racists.

Now in order to ascertain what really happened that day, we need to study it holistically. Kua Kia Soong had purposely left out vital events preceding May 13. I would have thought a research director with a doctorate would have been more diligent in espousing his hypothesis. One must always begin with the root cause, the trigger, the reaction and finally the aftermath. In a historical event of this magnitude, one must evaluate every event that took place in chronological order before we can decide on the conclusion. One must know the historical background of the mood of the people on that day.

Instead, he concluded them before making the research and work on it backwards. That is why the book was written in a manner which denigrated Tun Abdul Razak as a chinese killer and a usurper of Tunku Abdul Rahman. After making this conclusion, he then proceeded in cherry picking excerpts from the so-called 'declassified' documents (which were nothing but mere telegrams and wired news) of British field reporters to justify his conclusion.

That is a flawed approach and it does not work that way.

### **Let us dissect and re-address the May 13 episode as what it is and what it is not.**

The first of many factual errors the author committed was in the Introduction section whereby he averred that Dato Onn revolted against the British in 1946 in order 'to grant citizenship rights to the non-Malays' (pg. 13 of the book).

That was a factual mistake. In 1946 which was the birth year of Umno, Dato Onn had opposed the Malayan Union because it would usurp the power of the Malay Rulers, and allow the British to rule Malaya as their colony (according to Tunku Abdul Rahman's Political Awakening book pg. 1).

Furthermore, Dato Onn was fighting the Malayan Union because the Malays saw the *jus soli* (right of territory) principle in the citizenship clause for the Malayan Union as too generous because it stipulated that individuals born in Chinese-majority Singapore were included even though Singapore was excluded from the Malayan Union structure. The Malays' worst fears seemed to be coming true; they would be reduced from a nation to a mere community, and a minority one at that; in a land which they perceived as being historically theirs.

It was the author's intention to psychologically induce the minds of the younger generation that the first President of Umno was actually fighting for the non-Malays! Kua Kia Soong lied about this and got away with murder.

He also used the term declassified documents extensively but failed to establish validity on the facts he wanted to portray. In chapter three he stated:

"The following day, the riots continued but on a smaller scale compared to the previous day. The curfew was only lifted to allow people to buy food. This dispatch from the British High Commission (BHC) shows that the casualties were mainly chinese:

*'Violence continued throughout the night according to eye witnesses and official reports. However it was much more sporadic, more quickly contained and less widespread. Security forces were much better*

*organized to contain and check violence. It is hoped this morning that the back of the communal rioting may be broken. Curfew is being lifted over staggered hours in various districts of the city to allow people to get food. Curfew is to be rigidly reinforced this afternoon but indications are that it will be lifted for a few hours on a daily basis for the next few days if the situation permits.'"*

But readers will see that there were no numbers of deaths supplied in that particular dispatch. It did not even mention about more Chinese were killed! Readers were deliberately led to believe otherwise through the opening remarks. Very misleading indeed. Yet, currently most younger generations who are reading the books think that the official tally should be much higher! All because of his lies stated in the book.

It was amusing when in the effort to absolve any blame from the racist opposition at that time, the author concluded in his second chapter that-

"the official version of the May 13 Incident puts the blame for the riots on provocation by the Opposition parties. From correspondents' dispatches at the time, we find little evidence to support this allegation' (pg 39).

Of course there were little evidence from them Mr Kua Kia Soong, those correspondents were parachuted to the scene just to cover the general election. They were not here when racial tension was at sky high weeks or even years before May 13<sup>th</sup>.

Foreign journalists from Britain in the past had always gleefully wished that Malaysia will falter. Right after our independence in 1957, the then Malaya was labeled as the 'primary candidate for the dustbin of history'. They had always prophesied that Malaya (Malaysia) can never succeed as a nation due to its multiracial citizenry. It would be much better if Malaya had stayed under the administration of the British.

This incident was the best opportunity for them to see us go for each other's throat so that their prophecy will be self-fulfilled. As usual, most foreign journalists all around the world came here merely a couple of days before the general elections.

And it became damaging when in order to suit this book's agenda, Kua Kia Soong used all those suspicious correspondence and documents.

Did Kua Kia Soong take into account the prevailing feelings of the people in Malaysia during that time? He did not. His only reference of the discontent and animosity between the Malays and the Chinese contained only within one

sentence in which he blamed the policies for the anxiety caused, and not the opposition's racist approach. He stated –

"There was certainly widespread discontent among the workers, farmers, middle classes as well as urban settlers. The state's racially discriminatory policies only served to create further divisions among the people and the 1969 election results clearly reflected this growing polarisation".

And that was all he said. Consciously, he failed to include in his book the following items which fueled the mood of the people at that time. Importantly missing was the happenings between the election day of 10<sup>th</sup> May and May 13 itself. The author somehow failed to include these facts in his book.

### **Background on racial tension in Malaya / Malaysia**

1) To defend Malaya from Communist insurgency, the Government embarked on an effort to recruit the Chinese to join the police force. Between 1949 to 1951, the effort of the government to attract the Chinese to defend the nation against the MCP met with little success. Only 200 Chinese youths volunteered. When National Service was introduced in 1950, considerable amount of Chinese and Indians sought to leave the country.

Over 10,000 Chinese fled to China to avoid call-up. This further added to the resentment among the Malays and even Sir Henry Gurney commented –

*"A feeling of resentment is growing among all the other communities of the apparent reluctance of the Chinese to help. These people (the Chinese) live comfortably and devote themselves wholly to making money..."*

[\(Did I just hear RPK cough just now?\)](#)

However, I must add that there were indeed a few Chinese that stayed back and help defend the nation against the communists. Those were the brave ones. Very much unlike the opportunistic racists that we have now who would migrate overseas when times are bad and at the same time condemning Malaysia from abroad.

2) Pulau Pinang racial clash on 2nd January, 1957 resulted in 4 deaths and 48 injured. It happened on the day of celebrating Georgetown's bestowment of a City status by the British Government. The procession was marred by a misunderstanding by the mostly Chinese celebrants towards the Malay spectators. It was quickly averted from becoming a state wide riot through the quick arrival of a police party.

3) In May 1959, another Malay-Chinese racial clash happened in Pulau Pangkor. Confrontation between Malay thugs and Chinese hoodlums caused residential fire and two Malays were killed and eight were injured. The Chinese suffered one death and a couple of injured youths. Island curfew was imposed for a few days because of that racial clash.

4) In Bukit Mertajam circa July 1964, one Malay and one Chinese were killed over a petty argument. Dozens were injured. It started when a Malay market employee was hit with a *cangkul* by a 15 year old Chinese vegetable vendor. Subsequent to this, a spate of assaults cases and arson occurred in the Bukit Mertajam area as the employee tried to report the incident to the District Council. Eventually curfew was imposed to deter anymore racial clashes. The nation was rocked yet again by this incident.

5) In 1967 when the currency was devalued, the communist elements in the Labour Party initiated 'hartal' on the 19th November to exploit the issue using the anti-devaluation propaganda. They chose Pulau Pinang as their target because of the sensitive racial situation on the island. This is because, Penang's racial tension was already brewing for the past 10 years (from the first racial clash 10 years before). Many Malays were brutally attacked by the Chinese members of the opposition resulted in many deaths and injuries while several houses and vehicles were burnt. Tunku related -

*"The communists however, never left us alone. If they couldn't carry out open aggression they at least carried out intensive and extensive acts of subversion. In 1967, we had to adjust our currency to meet our financial exigency, and so we devalued very slightly our currency – so slightly that nobody noticed. But in Penang the Socialist Front, an opposition party somewhat hostile to the Alliance Government, declared a hartal (closing of shops as mark of protest or sorrow)...*

*So when they declared the hartal the gangsters and thugs took it upon themselves to start trouble, and attacked the harmless Malay people whom they regarded as the favoured children of the Government. In fact these Malays were ignorant shoppers who knew nothing valuation or devaluation of our currency, and they were taken completely by surprise."*

Tunku wrote that in the 1980's. He penned his thoughts in his weekly column in The Star. This was then compiled into a book entitled Political Awakening. The excerpt above had particularly debunked yet another lie told by Kua Kia Soong that Tunku Abdul Rahman stopped blaming the communists for the crisis.

Note that on page 27 and 28, Kua Kia Soong had tried to use yet another 'reliable' dispatch from the BHC to divert the blame put on communists by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Dr Ismail and Ghazali Shafie. But the fact is, Tunku Abdul Rahman, as mentioned above had always blamed the communists as the instigators of the riot. Just read Tunku's and Tun Dr Ismail's books.

Hence, we have a Malaysian author here with political leanings of the DAP, doing his utmost best to shift the blame from the communists.

I wonder why.

Moreover, he is using the flimsiest of evidence to sidetrack the blame.

Note also that the word *hartal* was used by the pro opposition bloggers such as [Haris Ibrahim](#) to denote his distaste of the [mainstream media and the ISA](#). Should he even mention the word hartal in front of the older Malay generation that suffered the brunt of the unprovoked attack in 1967, he will definitely meet disapproving faces. Astonishingly, the modus operandi of the old and current opposition is eerily similar.

6) In June 1968, racial troubles broke out when 11 chinese members of the MCP and 2 Malays who were sentenced to death for helping Soekarno to invade Johor during the [Confrontation](#), were about to be sentenced to death for treason in Kuala Lumpur. The MP for Batu, Dr Tan Chee Koon of the Labour Party made an appeal against the execution. He gathered enough support from the chinese and pro-communist elements instigated the chinese community further.

Outside the gates of Pudu Jail and all along the road leading to the prison, menacing crowds gathered by the thousands in unruly demonstrations, throwing stones and bottles at passing cars and blocking traffic in the busy city roads.

Fearing nationwide unrest, Tunku Abdul Rahman pleaded for clemency from the Sultans of Johor and Perak and the death sentence was commuted from death sentences to life imprisonment.

In hindsight, the net result was not unexpected. The racist communists saw it as a weakness from the government instead of seeing its magnanimity and they further destabilised the nation through their racialised approach.

Dr Mahathir at that time summarised Tunku's decision in [a stinging letter sent to the then premier](#) in the aftermath of 13th May. He wrote, among other things:



*"You yourself told me that you have prevented a riot by commuting the death sentence of the 11 subversive Chinese. In truth this very action sparked the riots of 13 May, which resulted in the deaths of many, many more.*

*Your 'give and take' policy gives the Chinese everything they ask for. The climax was the commuting of the death sentence, which made the majority of the Malays angry. The Chinese on the other hand regarded you and the Alliance government as cowards and weaklings who could be pushed around.*

*That was why the Chinese and the Indians behaved outrageously toward the Malays on 12th May. If you had been spit in the face, called dirty names and shown obscene gestures and private parts, then you could understand how the Malays felt. The Malays whom you thought would never rebel went berserk, and they hate you for giving too much face.*

Dr Mahathir was sacked from being an Umno and Supreme Council member about a month later.

7) A much more vile attack by the opposition happened on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1969; just two weeks before the historic general election. An Umno worker named Kassim Bin Omar was brutally murdered by the Chinese members of the Labour Party on his way home from elections campaign. He was beaten up and murdered on the streets and red paint was smeared all over his face. It was a deliberate act of murder and the senseless killing sent shock waves in the government. The opposition had become political murderers. They had tasted blood and the racists among them wanted more. They freely killed a Malay without any qualms whatsoever just to show their political strengths. Racial tension intensified to a dangerous level and a serious clash was averted at the last moment when Umno leaders instructed their supporters to bury the dead man quickly and quietly in a dignified manner. Umno leaders then were very sensitive with the feelings of the public and some say too tolerant towards the Chinese chauvinists.



The body of Enche Kassim bin Omar, an UMNO worker, brutally slain in cold blood in Penang on April 24th by Labour Party youths who smeared him with the red paint they used to scrawl "Don't Vote in the Elections".

Kua Kia Soong purposely did not mention this story because he wanted to put forth his third conclusion.

### **The Run-up to General Election of 1969**

Kua Kia Soong's analyses in his book only started from this point onwards although he still missed out several more pertinent points.

The May 13th general election had an unprecedented long campaign period. One month to be precise. Under the pretext of freedom of speech yet with rising racial tension in the background it was an unfortunate decision to be made by the government to grant a long campaigning period at that time.

The communist infested Labour Party instigated the nation by announcing in October 1968 they will boycott the 1969 general election. This left the opposition front to consist only the DAP, Gerakan, PPP and the PMIP (Pan Malaysian Islamic Party or PAS). The supporters of Labour Party then threw their weights in support of the DAP and Gerakan during the campaigning period.

They sense the government had already weakened by the racial intimidation and tension ignited by them and they were willing to divide the nation further in their campaigning strategy.

Using Kua Kia Soong's own words -

"Thus, on the eve of the 1969 general election we saw on the one hand, PMIP (PAS) accusing UMNO of having 'sold out' the Malays to the Chinese and betrayed Islam; on the other, DAP accusing MCA of having "sold out" non-Malay rights to Umno" (pg 32).

So which is which? Their line of reasoning was indeed preposterous and illogical.

But this modus operandi remains the same till this day. They slandered the government through this racist method of divide and conquer and yet, they have the gall to call the Alliance (now Barisan Nasional) as racist!

Both PAS and DAP had different ideologies and yet they were willing to cooperate using DIFFERENT approach in their campaigns and the unassuming public bought their sickening propaganda! The result?

Again Kua Kia Soong's succinctly summarized that "among the Chinese, the Alliance Party's policy was seen as excessively favoring the Malays, while among the Malays, the Alliance Party's policies were regarded as not getting results fast enough" (pg 37).

But who pounded these beliefs into the hearts and minds of both Malays and chinese? It's non other than the opposition themselves.

Hence we have the ultimate hypocrisy of PAS chastising Umno for working with MCA instead of pursuing Hudud but at the same time can work in tandem with the DAP in a coalition. DAP meanwhile criticise MCA and Gerakan for kow-

towing with Umno but the party itself failed to look in the mirror whenever they fawn over and hug PAS leaders in the opposition coalition.

Please re-read what Kia Kua Soong had wrote in the two excerpts above and juxtapose them with the current cries of racism that the opposition love to scream about these days.

Anyway, six days before the 1969 elections, 3 police constables came across a group of youths from the Labour Party painting anti-election slogans on the road. When challenged by the police, they attacked using iron rods and hurling firewood and stones. They put up such a fight that the police had to open fire in self defense. One of the youth was wounded and died later in the hospital.

The opposition took advantage of the youth's death and wanted to organise a large funeral procession on the polling day itself! See the intended malice? Did Umno leaders organised a similar procession when Encik Kassim Bin Omar was killed as shown above? Compare the two incidents and we know who were the racist among them.

Anyway, the police together with the permission from the Home Ministry however, gave the permit for the procession to be held on the 9th instead.

This funeral procession, although larger in scale compared to the recent suspected car thief's funeral procession was the tipping point of the Malays' anger towards the chinese.

One of the documents which were considered 'declassified' was Bob Reece's article in FEER in May 1969. Kua Kia Soong used an excerpt from it to establish that the funeral procession was very disciplined and well behaved (thus trying very hard to absolve any wrongdoing of the opposition).

*"While it was true that some Mao-slogans and flags were seen during this parade, the discipline of the 14,000-strong crowd in their eight-mile march may have been due to genuine restraint rather than to communist organization." (pg 27)*

There you go. A British journalist who probably forgot to bring his glasses that day. The only side that had genuine restraint were the Malays watching the ruthless and taunting procession.

For eight miles the chauvinistic chinese marched.

The sight of the jeering hooligans marching slowly around the city for that many miles must have been an agonizing experience to bear for the Malays then. And yet, they chose to be patient.

They chanted Maoist slogans, sang 'The East is Red', and displayed portraits of [Mao Tse-tung](#) and the Red flag. The procession passed through the heart of Kuala Lumpur and tied up traffic in almost every major street in the city and provoked Malay bystanders with shouts of 'Malai si!' (Death to the Malays) and 'Hutang darah bayar darah' (Blood debt will be repaid with blood).

Pictures say a thousand words. Here they are:



Funeral procession. Above, Slogans read (1) "Down with the Imperialists headed by America" and (2) "To Repay Blood Debt with Blood, and To Return Violence with Violence".

Below. Banners read (1) "Hold High the Red Flag of Martyrs and Carry Out Revolution to the End" and (2) "To Die for the People is as Heavy as the Mountain of Tai".

Bystanders watching the procession went by with all the taunting slogans in the midst



The funeral procession in Kuala Lumpur on May 9th, showing portrait of the "martyr", Lim Soon Seng, preceded by the banner of the Labour Party of Malaysia.

14,000 thousand people marched through the city into the Malay areas



Funeral Procession. Above, Banner reads "The Enemy's Might Will Never Defeat Us" ("Mao Tse Tung's Thoughts").

Below. Banners read (1) "Carry Out the Struggle Against British-American Imperialism and the Rahman-Lee Regime to the End" and (2) "Topple Modern Revisionism Headed By the Russian Revisionist Reactionary Clique".

The communist sympathisers taunting the Malays with Chairman Mao's ideology





Funeral procession. Above, Slogans read (1) "Down with the Imperialists headed by America" and (2) "To Repay Blood Debt with Blood, and To Return Violence with Violence".

Below. Banners read (1) "Hold High the Red Flag of Martyrs and Carry Out Revolution to the End" and (2) "To Die for the People is as Heavy as the Mountain of Tai".

Is this what we can call as communist-free procession?

Did Kua Kia Soong mention any of these in his book? Of course he didn't. Even to show these pictures will be damaging to his third conclusion stated at the beginning of this article.

4 days after this funeral procession, when an election victory march was held all over the city again, it broke the ever tolerant Malay psyche. That was the straw that broke the camel's back.

Today, [Farish Noor wrote an article](#) about May 13 and I am very disappointed that he chose to ignore all the above facts and proceeded to write that May 13 WAS NOT the result of a racial conflict. That is not the truth.

My next article will continue to discuss the events that happened after the victory procession of the opposition for the 2 days before May 13.

I will also lay out the retaliation by the Malays that ran amok on May 13, Umno's role at that time and the reconciliation process between the people. We will also discuss whether the first two conclusions of the book were correct.

I reiterate the purpose of this article – which is to straighten out the lies some people are telling to young Malaysians. In order to clear the path for a united Malaysia, history must be made known as it is. Only then we can tell straight to each other's face – 'how lucky we are now'.

There is hope though. Anas Zubedy's [article here](#) is a refreshing read and I applaud it. But only after we really know what happened in the past that we can face the future in a positive way. Maybe starting next year, we can all celebrate **National Harmony Day** on May 13 each year.

For the time being, please click on the articles below for a better view of what had happened prior to May 13 (zoom on it if you have to). They are a must read before we proceed later on in part 2.



Taken from Chapter 12 of the NOC Report (i)



Taken from Chapter 12 of the NOC Report (ii)

When Kua Kia Soong launched his book a couple of years ago, it was hailed as a momentous occasion where a national taboo was at last broken. What more, the authorities did nothing to even review or validate the book's contents. It is after all, a one man's point of view. A skewed one nevertheless. But it is a book that is open for discussion.

Nobody on earth questioned about its contents back then. Kua Kia Soong's book was the definitive guide for Malaysians to learn about May 13, 1969. So when this blog revealed that Kua Kia Soong had actually slandered our very own Bapa Pembangunan Malaysia for instigating the riots, everyone jumped into the bandwagon and criticised me as a racist.

I find that hilarious.

I conclude that among the communist infested minds of the commentators here, it is OKAY for Kua Kia Soong to omit facts from his book and also, it is permissible for him to insult and slander people without proper evidence.

On the other hand, when I revealed that there are so many other FACTS that were omitted by him and also the refutations provided had unveiled his malicious agenda, I was hurled with so many abusive language. Some even wanted me to be jailed under the ISA! How ironic.

I guess from a communist point of view, telling lies is okay but trying to rebuke the lies and telling the truth is a BIG NO.

As predicted, profanity-charged comments came from all over to spam this particular blog. After getting a free ride since Kua Kia Soong's book hit the book stand in 2007, these particular commentators are rattled just because someone had tried to debunk their 'bible'. They could only spew vulgarities (which had to be deleted) but unable to rebuke the writings I posed for them.

For instance, not one of them rebuked my contention that Kua Kia Soong made a horrendous mistake regarding Dato' Onn's struggle back in 1946. Not one of the many comments made a reference to my assertion that Kua Kia Soong

purposely did not include any of the damning events leading to the general elections in 1969. He did not even describe with great detail how was the victory parade looked like a day after the general elections. To me, like I stated earlier, he was trying to imply that the racial riots were originated from Umno alone. I proved to them that it was wrong. And no one rebutted me on that.

Anyone?

Anyway, some of the commentators could not even argue properly. This is because, they have not read Kua Kia Soong's book or any of the books I provided. A few actually said that since Kua Kia Soong had his own sources, we should believe him because my own sources are unverified.

Well, truth be told that the sources I used as reference are from the same sources that Kua Kia Soong had used for his book! Just look at its bibliography section and notice that he had referred to Tunku's book (May 13 : Before and After) and the NOC Official Report.

Where do you think I get all the pictures and details? From those two books lah! Not only that, I used as reference Tunku's other books such as Political Awakening (I even provided page number for the readers' easy reference). I also sourced out references from other people that was involved during that period of time. One of them is a book entitled 'Nation Before Self' by Dato Seri Yuen Yuet Leng who is a celebrated police officer of his time (he retired in 1984 as a Sarawak Police Commissioner).

Since Kua Kia Soong's sources of references are deemed as credible by these Chinese chauvinists, then why are mine be selectively discarded?

Bear in mind, I took first hand experience from writers that were involved during that episode.

Bottomline, they are unable to accept that what Kua Kia Soong had written could be extremely one sided and may not be deemed as the comprehensive truth after all.

It must have hurt them real bad to have their fantasies of pinning all the blame to Malays and Umno over what happened in 1969 was put to the stress test by this blog. Of which, judging from the plethora of 'denial syndrome' infested comments; it was indeed a test that these bigots failed to pass.

One last try of the ridiculous argument they presented was that all those provocations by the chauvinistic Chinese towards Malays such as 'Melayu babi balik kampung' and 'Jakun balik hutan' and showing their genitals and vulgar

signs did not justify the killings of Chinese by the Malays that went berserk from those taunts.

My rebuttal? What was the justification to kill an innocent Malay Umno member by the Labour Party members 2 weeks before the elections? It was an unprovoked attack. Was his life less valuable than the life of a Chinese? I guess not then.

Which is why Tun Mahathir said in [one of his articles](#) – when Malays tried to defend their constitutional rights and tell their side of the story, it is deemed as racist. But when those extremists initially had shrieked on top of their lungs to abolish those very rights and propagating insidious lies as history, it is deemed as acceptable and following the rights to have freedom of speech.

That is certainly not how it is done here. Freedom of speech can only be done if it goes hand in hand with a sense of responsibility and awareness.

Here is a poser: some say that the cause of racial tension here in Malaysia is due to the NEP. The NEP is the one that made all races resent each other. Correct?

But racial riots that happened in 1969 and prior to that occurred before the inception of the NEP in 1970! If the opposition now had publicly declared that they will uphold the Malay Special Rights and will protect what is in the Constitution, what was the cause of the racial tension pre-NEP days then?

You guessed it right. Extremism and subversive communist propaganda. Some people then could not accept what is in the Constitution. These were the opposing views who [wanted to segregate themselves from nationalism](#). Those racist bigots back then thought that the Malay Special Rights were an abomination to their own minority rights. And what right was that? The presumption that their chauvinistic values are far better than the stereotyped Malays.

We see here now that a similar trend emerged since the 80's where the opposition kept on questioning the Malay rights. The Malays in turn could not question or even defend their rights for if they were to do that, they will automatically be labeled as racists. Evidently, the concept of fairness only applies to what they only think was fair.

Here is another fact. On May 13, not all that died were Chinese. 25 Malays, 13 Indians and 143 Chinese died because of the riots. Freedom of speech that went too far coupled with provocations caused those deaths. Extremism caused those deaths. Racial insensitivities caused those deaths. Irresponsible subversive

elements such as communist underground movement caused those deaths. Unhindered chauvinism and racism caused those deaths.

Please do not start that there were more Chinese that died compared to other races. Certainly it wasn't the Malays that started the funeral procession and the victory marches. The blame should be put squarely on the shoulders of those who took part in the processions and the parade as well.

Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak [made a speech](#) recently that Umno must not be too nostalgic of its past contribution. He said:

“There is no other party that has made as much contribution to nation-building as Umno, and this has been proven,” he said. “But if we only rely on sentiments, past contributions and nostalgia, these may not be enough to sustain our position as the ruling party.”

I am happy that the prime minister is cognisant of history although I doubt he is aware of the current prevailing sentiments of the people who had been influenced by the hate propaganda of the opposition. Many out there believe that the racial riots of 1969 was started by Umno. And many believed it was started by his own father! Tragically, many of our younger generations may have believed it as well. Regarding the young generation, Najib said this about them in the same speech:

“They are like a piece of white cloth; if you provide them with the right information, they will lean towards us.”

But ever since the publication of Kua Kia Soong's book, were there any effort to correct the misleading facts shown in that book by the government? Were there any books to counter its damaging effects?

Hence, these blog articles here will help the people to see the tragic incident from an impartial perspective.

I need not apologise for this effort. It is a story that must told in the correct way.

We will start on where we left off from the [previous article](#).

As what was well documented, the Alliance lost many parliamentary seats in the 1969 general election.

Selangor lost many of its state seats but managed to get hold of the state government through a slim majority of 4 seats.

Perak nearly lost to the opposition. Pulau Pinang lost to Gerakan.

All of the state seats in Kuala Lumpur fell to the Chinese based opposition political parties (Kuala Lumpur was part of Selangor then).

In Parliament, the Alliance lost its two-thirds majority by only 1 parliamentary seat (although they regain the two-thirds majority when Gerakan, PPP and PAS joined the Alliance to form Barisan Nasional in 1973).

As the result of the unprecedented victory by the opposition at that time, the DAP and Gerakan decided to organize victory parade all over Kuala Lumpur on the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of May.

Kua Kia Soong even stated on page 85 that the racial riots of 1969 were carefully planned and organized by Tun Abdul Razak as a coup d'état. Kua Kia Soong concluded all this even though circumstances before, during and after the riots clearly made his conclusion a wrong one.

And this was well documented by the people that were there during the scene. However, there were some commentators in the previous article who said that it was Tun Abdul Razak who had granted permission to the opposition to hold victory parade but Tunku was against it. Hence, the massive scale of riots could have been avoided and there would have been no killings on May 13<sup>th</sup>.

That could be true. But then again, let me show you what really had happened according to what Tunku had written in his book that Kua Kia Soong is also using as reference (again, please click and zoom). By Tunku's own admission, he wrote:



Taken from May 13 : Before and After (i)

On Tuesday, May 13th he made an open apology in the Press for his party supporters having caused such inconvenience to the public, but the emotional damage had already been done. He certainly had some reason to apologise, as apart from Dr. Tan's main procession, which had dispersed at the agreed time of 8:00 p.m., he had later taken part in an illegal procession himself, as Police reports record.

From the course of subsequent events that night it is clear that the Gerakan leaders had now lost control of the elements and emotions they had unleashed, or to put it in another way they were now themselves being led in turn by the mob. After dispersal their supporters split up into various groups, going in different areas to carry on with their victory cries and continuing to celebrate their triumph, and two more processions started out, both illegal.

Enche Abu Bakar bin Abdul Aziz, the Officer-in-Charge of Kuala Lumpur Police District, reported in a statement recorded as follows:—

"I was in the Control Room at 10:10 p.m. and I got information that Yook Tuck Chye was leading a procession along Bukit Bintang Road without permission. Another one was coming from Petaling Jaya led by David, also without permission. (Note:— Enche V. David of the Gerakan Party, had won a Federal seat in Petang, and also won a State seat in his home State of Selangor).

"I gave orders that these two processions must be stopped as they were not authorised by the Police. The Federal Reserve Unit troops were sent to stop them.

"In the meantime the one at Bukit Bintang dispersed but the one headed by David went to the Peking Hotel (in Jalan Brickfields) where 200 Indian youths were waiting for them. F.R.U. troops were sent to disperse them.

"David then tried to contact the Chief Police Officer but could not get him; he then contacted me. He told me not to send F.R.U. men to provoke his people. The time then was 12:05 a.m. on May 13th.

"I told him that his supporters (obviously drunk with success and today) were causing a nuisance by making noise and I had received many telephone calls complaining about this. I told him that his crowd must disperse or else they would be made to do so.

"He asked me if I knew who he was. I said that I knew him as Mr. David. He said that he was a newly-elected Member of Parliament. I told him that was immaterial, but as far as I was concerned he should tell his supporters to disperse or else the F.R.U. troops would do that. To this he said, "To hell with F.R.U., you bastard!", and jammed the telephone.

"Part of the procession also went round Padu and involved the Malays and the Police there.

"One lucky fall of Gerakan supporters shouting and screaming went round Seital but was stopped by the Police because it had no heritage permit.

"It would appear that the DAP also joined in the procession but it was difficult to distinguish them except by their party symbol. Who was to be blamed was difficult to say, but in my mind both Gerakan and DAP were equally to be blamed for creating a nuisance which was likely to cause a breach of peace. This would have happened if the Police had not taken prompt action".

It is significant here to point out that both the subsequent processions referred to in Enche Abu Bakar's statement were started without permission. If the Gerakan

Party had held its victory procession, then why on earth was there any necessity for further demonstrations on the same night?

As Enche Abu Bakar reports the two processions did disperse, but the wildness and excitement and personal injury that they generated continued thereafter, the processions breaking up into groups to make separate demonstrations in three different sections of Kuala Lumpur—in Brickfields, in Padu and in Seital—these areas being in the South, the Centre and the North of the city, the distance between the first and the third areas being nearly seven miles and the demonstrations continuing until well after midnight.

There is no doubt at all in my mind that these scattered and separate demonstrations only served to exacerbate the atmosphere in Kuala Lumpur, which was beginning to show signs of becoming tense with rapidly-rising tensions.

## Taken from May 13 : Before and After (ii)

From reading this, the report on the victory celebrations actually jived with the clippings NOC report attached at the end of the previous article.

But it does not jive with the notion that it was Tun Razak who had planned to give the permit for the parade. In fact, Gerakan's V. David had arrogantly defied police orders and proceeded to organise an illegal victory parade in the middle of Bukit Bintang!

If you have eyes and able to read, then I leave it to you to think whether all the assumptions made by people who wanted to twist history is viable.

Dato Seri Yuen Yuet Leng wrote a whole chapter on the racial riots in his book – Nation Before Self. On page 159, he reminisced:

"The sudden surge of excessive Chinese chauvinistic and uncontrolled emotions during the May 69 elections following Opposition camps, was accompanied by even some simplistic presumptuousness that even greater Chinese political ascendancy and successes would follow. The aggressive posturing and defiance seen during the funeral procession of an opposition posturing element shot by the police few days earlier had already fumed the situation. All these acts together could only create anger and inflict humiliation on the fragile sensitivities of a basically proud race and people. Very strong Malay anger arose intermixed with political anxieties for the community's future. A counter procession in strength with much embedded racial pride and improvised self-protection was planned and organized."



On page 42 of Kua Kia Soong's book, he only made a passing remark about the funeral procession and the victory parades (just 7 lines to be exact). Will this give his readers the true picture of what had happened then? I doubt it. Do you?

Here are more pictures taken from the history archives:



Provocation by the chauvinist victors



The Gerakan-DAP "victory" parade in Kuala Lumpur on May 12th  
Above. — Gerakan Secretary-General Dr. Tan Chee Khoo with  
the Party banner.

Below. DAP Secretary-General Goh Hock Guan marching in  
centre beneath Party banner.

The parade that went off course than was permitted



"Victory" parade. Above, "Broom to sweep out the Malays".

Below. Gerakan supporters in "victory" mood.

Freedom of speech that went too far



"Victory" parade. The jeers of jubilation.

Picture taken from Tunku's book

Before we move on to part 3, I would like to state another misdirection Kua Kia Soong did in his book.

On page 62, Kua Kia Soong stated this –

“From the declassified documents, it was widely known that the number of casualties were far higher than stated in the official statistics. Still the official sources showed a preponderance of non-Malay fatalities.

On 21 May, limited passenger train services resumed between Kuala Lumpur, Butterworth and Singapore; Malaysia-Singapore Airlines resume normal operations, while international flights were still over-flying West Malaysia. The official statistics of casualties were:

“137 killed – 18 Malays  
342 injured  
109 vehicles burned  
118 buildings destroyed  
2912 persons arrested, mostly curfew breakers”

Wow. At the start of this paragraph, he said that there were actually more deaths than what was reported in the official report. He said that it was widely known from the ‘declassified documents’ that the casualties were higher. But get this, he did not even publish the excerpt of this ‘evidence’ in his book at all! Instead, he put in the official statistics.

Why? So that he will incite hatred among those who read his book. And yet, I was the one who was labeled as hate monger when I have done nothing but exposing the weaknesses in his hypothesis and adding the facts that Kua Kia Soong purposely had omitted.

Furthermore, it was not Tun Razak who established the National Operations Council (NOC). It was Tunku. Therefore, to even suggest that it was Tun Razak who created the NOC just to shelve the then PM was indeed a false notion. Below is the excerpt from Tunku’s book:

First of all, I said it was necessary for me to advise His Majesty to proclaim a State of Emergency throughout the country, as there was no other way of dealing effectively with the current situation. Also polling in East Malaysia would have to be postponed indefinitely.

I had also decided to set up a National Operations Council to deal with all matters pertaining to the emergency. Concurrently, I would also form an Emergency Cabinet from both old and new members to deal with administrative matters.

The idea of an Emergency Cabinet was not to stop any discussion on its possible composition on a permanent basis but to proceed urgently with the day-to-day affairs essential to smooth administration. I would be proceeding to the Istana that evening to obtain from His Majesty the necessary authority to carry out these decisions.

So I obtained the approval of His Majesty to appoint Tun Abdul Razak, who was both Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, to be the Director of the proposed National Operations Council. He was the right man, younger and more active, full of vim and vigour, and better suited to the arduous task of restoring the country to normalcy in view of his vast experience in handling the portfolios of both Defence and National Development.

May 13 : Before and After (pg 98 - 100)

Thus we go back to Kua Kia Soong's conclusions mentioned in the previous article:

- 1) Tun Abdul Razak masterminded the May 13 racial riots as a form of coup d'etat from Tunku Abdul Rahman – *false conclusion*
- 2) Datuk Harun Idris led Umno Youths to spontaneously launched an unprovoked attack towards the chinese people – *to be discussed later*
- 3) The racial riots were not the fault of the racist opposition or the subversive communist movement – *false conclusion*

I have decided to write and publish this article before we continue to the last part. This can be considered as ironing out emotional issues pertaining the previous two articles.

But first and foremost, I thank everyone who had taken the time to read those articles and I appreciate the fact that you had put extra effort in writing your views on the matter. I am also gratified that some of the commentators had put on their thinking caps and chipped in their arguments in a civilised discourse.

Many had rebutted each other's comments and I feel that in the end, common sense should prevail. I have always thought that this blog aspire to be a role model in encouraging an intelligent and civil discussion. Discussions that will add to our benefit.

On the contrary, discussions that are laden with over powering prejudice and hate will not contribute to our cumulative knowledge. It distracts you, and ridicule your decision-making prowess.

However, I am sad that there are at least one-third of the commentators had resorted to be emotional in commenting. Some had warned me for publishing the pictures as they say I will incite hatred among the Malays towards the chinese.

I find this paradoxically challenging but nevertheless very much enthusiastic to say that this very opinion solidified some of my arguments that hateful and racist demonstrations that had happened during that time were indeed one of the contributing factor of the whole incident.

If you are worried that the pictures will incite hatred, then I have to say that if mere pictures could incite hatred, then imagine how the Malays had felt watching those demonstrations in the flesh. In a way, that opinion is also acknowledging the fact that the opposition back then were stupid to do those kind of things.

The pictures were not doctored or superimposed version of what had happened. They were the pictures taken during the sad episode of our history.

Mind you, May 13 is not the only tragic episode of our colourful past. We had so many tragic events that laced our history.

I am quite perplexed with the many misguided comments in the last two articles. The whole gamut of reaction ranged from people chastising me as generalising

the chinese; all the way to the extent of degrading these articles as trying to fulfil Umno's agenda.

My friends, never in my articles that I blamed the whole chinese citizens of this country during the 1969 episode. If you feel that you are one of the 'extremists', the 'communists' or the 'chauvinists' and feel disgusted with me pointing out the behaviours of the hooligans back then, I must say, shame on you. Bear in mind, I have not come to the part of the Malays retaliating yet. I do not condone killings nor do I condone vile racial insults. But the former did not happen without the latter. And that is a fact.

I was really disheartened when one of the commentators said that there is nothing wrong for the victors to celebrate their victory. I find it terribly wrong for this to even be uttered by a person that has been a Malaysian all his (her) life. It is as if he (she) had been living in a vacuum and had the unfortunate fate of not knowing what is in history.

This is one of the very thing I tried to point out. History should be learned in totality. Not just to look at it from a book that had omitted several crucial facts.

Coming back to this opinion that there is nothing wrong to celebrate, the obvious answer is yes, there is nothing wrong at all. But to celebrate it by insulting the Malays, chanting hateful and obscene words were not only racially distasteful, it is illegal everywhere else in the world.

Martin Luther King made anti Black movements illegal back in United States in the 60's. But here, some lost souls think that the act of committing all these hate crimes by the demonstrators in the funeral procession and victory parade are ALLOWABLE? Are they bereft of their senses? If calling an afro american a 'negro' is considered offensive, what more calling the whole Malay race as 'babi' and other repugnant names? How more racist do you want to be?

To show how hypocritical the foreign correspondents were during the outbreak of hate filled demonstrations and victory parades, they issued articles claiming that democracy is alive in Malaysia. Kua Kia Soong wrote in his book (pg 42);

"On the night of 11th and 12th May, the Opposition celebrated their victory. In particular, a large Gerakan procession welcomed the left wing Gerakan leader V. David back from winning the federal seat in Penang.

Foreign correspondents in Kuala Lumpur who observed the elections filled dispatches praising the Malaysian democratic process and predicting five years of peace, prosperity and more efficient government."



Imagine if it was in America, and instead of those chauvinist chinese, it was thousands of racist White American who had hold such demonstrations and calling names to the black community there.

Imagine what would have happened.

And yet, Kua Kia Soong, with his insipid references of hypocritical foreign news was trying his best to deflect what is a known fact and blame it to other people in its entirety!

And what is this fact?

Let me describe further.

Kua Kia Soong, in his book stated that (in pg. 39):

"The state's racially discriminatory policies only served to create further divisions among the people and the 1969 election results clearly reflected this growing polarisation"

This is akin as saying that the Alliance is racist (Much like how the Pakatan is calling BN as racist). Kua Kia Soong's constant underlying principle is that the BN especially Umno are all racist in nature.

He stated that the opposition during that time (and till this day) were multi racial and wanted to break up communal politics. In my mind, Kua Kia Soong is a delusional writer.

His hate towards the Malays are so great he could not even see the truth. Instead he turned a blind eye towards his own parties' racist tendencies. How so?

Well, right after the 1969 elections, the purported 'multi racial' chinese based opposition parties were the ones shouting racist slurs and verbal diatribe of extreme insults to the Malays!

Was that the mark of non racist political party? You had just won several seats more in a general election and the first thing that came to mind was to unceremoniously tell the Malays to their faces that they need to pack up and stay in the jungles?

Is this a mark of a non-racist multi racial political party Dr Kua Kia Soong? What do you, dear readers think?

Yes, you missed this pertinent fact because in his book, he did not say all these. In fact, he tried to accuse the Alliance as racist instead! Hello!

Whenever BN won big in general elections, did Umno hold rallies to kick out the chinese? When MCA won big in 1999 or in 1990, did they tried to kick out the Malays?

Since the first general elections of 1955, have the Alliance or the BN acted like racist animals during their victory celebrations?

Now, I know the truth hurts, especially among the racist amongst us. But this is all in our history books. That is why when people like Kua Kia Soong was trying so hard to paint a different picture through his own historical revision, I find it is imperative to straighten this out.

Some even said that there is nothing wrong having a communist ideology. Let me once and for all say this. Communism is banned here in Malaysia (and 95% of the countries around the world). What more with the fact that communists had committed [many atrocities against our own people](#). Thousands had died from their hands through terrified means. If people are condoning this type of movement, then sorry to say, I fear for the opposition parties who had been infiltrated by communist elements.

Anyway, what happened has happened. We just have to accept it as it is. So that our younger generation can realise that freedom of speech is dangerous without a sense of responsibility. That is why the commentator whom had said that there is nothing wrong for the DAP and Gerakan supporters to celebrate their victory back then was greatly misguided. He (she) should know by now that freedom of speech ala Western culture only applies as to when it is beneficial to them.

Therefore, I find it disgusting for Kua Kia Soong to rely only on foreign correspondents to justify his subversive racism. For instance, he said on page 38;

The important thing to note is that despite the election results, there was absolutely no reason for any spontaneous outbreak of communal rioting as a result of the elections. This was observed by FEER correspondent T.G McGee:

*"On the face of it, the results of the 1969 election should not have provided a catalyst for the communal rioting which ensued. True, MCA had lost some support of the majority of Chinese. True, Umno had lost some support among the Malays. But these trends should merely have served as indicators to the Alliance Party of the inadequacy of its policies*

*for building a multi racial society. They need not be interpreted as an irrevocable disenchantment with the Alliance Party or the successful manoeuvring of another party or parties to overthrow the existing Government."*

Kua Kia Soong postulated that based only on this report by this foreign journalist, there was nothing wrong being committed by the opposition parties and the riot on May 13th was unprovoked and spontaneous!

Plus, this journalist said that the peaceful balance of social harmony conceptualised under the Alliance was inadequate. I would love to tell this T.G. McGee that the threat of this successful multi racial concept of the Alliance came from the racist Labour Party, DAP and Gerakan! They threw insults to Alliance using racial propaganda and got the citizens all riled up! Why? So that they can topple the government!

To me, either the foreign journalist was blind, or could not relate what the chauvinistic mobs were shouting, or having an ulterior agenda to weaken the government further. Subsequently, Kua Kia Soong picked this news and opined that it was the Alliance who were racist. And not only that, please be aware that those racist mobs back then did not insult Umno. From eye witnesses and verified reports written in Tunku's and other books I stated earlier, these people insulted the whole Malay race!

And today, Kua Kia Soong is writing this twisted side of history in his book so that people including you and me will believe that this propaganda of his is the true story. And if there are readers out there try to rebut this logic, then I am sure there are indeed hatemongers living among us.

Dear readers, I am rebutting his book using facts from books he himself had used to strengthen his hypothesis. I am not creating new theories. I am presenting the facts as what had happened. In fact, readers should have known that from the weaknesses in his statements that I exposed during the first two articles, he made a disservice to himself and to the credibility of his book.

For how could you say one thing and then provide a flimsy evidence that did not conform and substantiate with what you said in the first place? Surely it does not make any sense.

Please know that there are elements in Malaysia that tries to disrupt the social harmony in Malaysia using this racist tactic of deflection. Honestly, this book is one of them. Anyone by now should know that after reading this book, it's only purpose is to create anger among the chinese towards the Malays and its leadership. This book is to instill the loathing towards the Malays via telling lies

that the mass killings of Malays and Chinese started by Umno and it was an unprovoked attack by a racist governing party.

In the end, the young generation will grow up hating not only BN, but importantly, Umno and Malays as well. This organised strategy of weakening the Malays were carefully meted out using subversive and untruth elements disguised as freedom of speech and anti racism.

In 2007, after Kua Kia Soong successfully launched a book which had ultimately condemned Tun Abdul Razak and all the Malays as Chinese killers while at the same time paint a different story that all the opposition supporters back then were peaceful and innocent, [Hindraf](#) came out with their lies to create anger among the Indians towards the Malays.

Their memorandum was intentionally done to arouse this anger. The word government will be preceded with the word 'Malay' or 'Umno' everytime it appears. For instance, Malay government practises 'ethnic cleansing' of Indians in Malaysia.

We know that this is not true. But adding the specific connotation that it was all the Malays' fault will have the desired effect of arising suspicion and hate by the Indians towards Malays and BN in general. It is statistically impossible to have any ethnic cleansing of Indians in Malaysia since the number of Indian population in this country is steadily rising every year!

It is an enough statistical evidence to expunge what Hindraf is accusing. But even highly intellectual people like doctors, engineers and lawyers believe this impossibility.

Now, these racist elements had achieved the success of getting the Chinese (via Kua Kia Soong's book) and the Indians (via Hindraf) to revolt against the BN. How could people be so blind? But of course, whenever the Malays or Umno try to defend themselves, they are labeled as racists while the real [propagators of racism](#) are deemed as saints.

I conclude with the fact that history belongs to all of us. It does not belong to Umno, DAP, Kua Kia Soong or the Hindraf. It belongs to all Malaysians.

For better or for worse, it is part of us. Whether the history showed us the glorious and the best of our achievements, or our darkest deeds and shameful acts, it is OUR OWN history. We must embrace it, learn from it and make the best out of it. Do not let other foreigners or other non patriotic people to change it, twist it or tell us otherwise. Our history is our own.

We all know that this blotch of our history was forgiven by both sides of the aggrieved parties. The outcome of the riots made us stronger and unified us to achieve even greater feats than before.

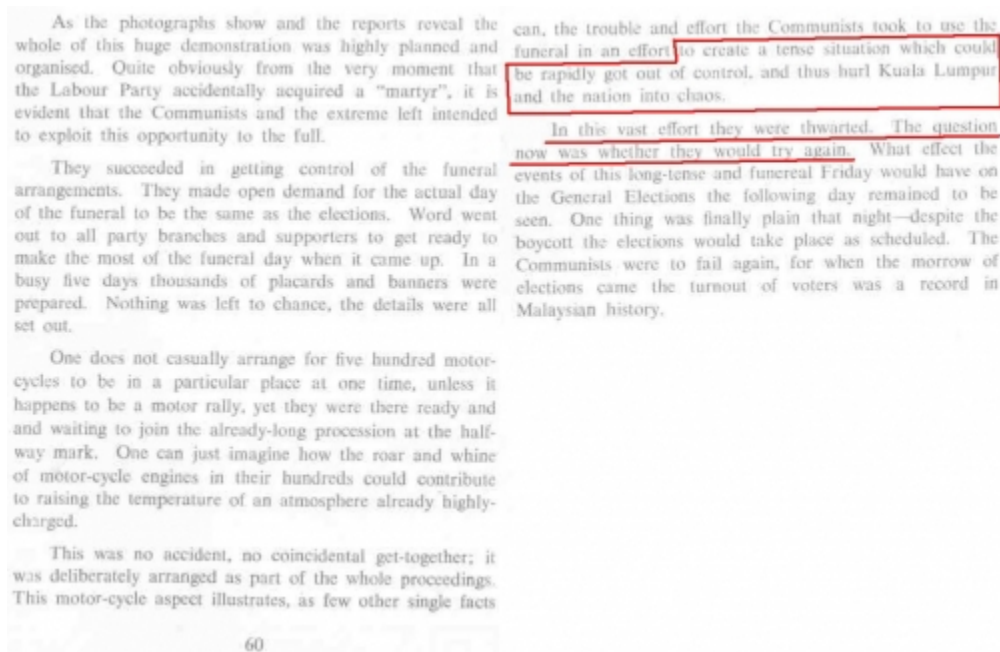
These few articles of mine merely wanting to set right on what were wronged.

We have read and discussed the happenings during the May 13 episode in lieu of Kua Kia Soong's book. We took note the fact that the racial riots that occurred that day were not unprovoked or spontaneously happened. There indeed were extenuating factors that led to that tragic day.

These factors were conspicuously missing in his book. From the 3 articles which were posted before, we can now say without a doubt that that the racial riots on May 13<sup>th</sup> was triggered by overzealousness of the thuggish opposition party members and the antics of their racist leaders back then. We now also know that there were communist elements that had penetrated in the political scenario back then.

Unfortunately, the said book had tried to dismiss these elements as insignificant or worse, as non-existent.

Tunku's thoughts on the communists can be read below in his book, May 13: Before and After.



Please click and zoom

Also, please read back the three articles below should you have missed them earlier:

- 1) [Part 1](#)
- 2) [Part 2](#)
- 3) [Intermission](#) (in reality, it's part 3)

After reading all the above and comprehending the social and political environment at that time, we now move on with the prevalent sentiments within the Malay psyche during the years preceding the May 13 incident. This would be the longest article in this series but I do hope dear readers will indulge me for little while.

This is important so that a true and fair view of the whole May 13 incident can finally be digested by the people of Malaysia.

Knowledge will give you the ability to see reality differently from the one you had been accustomed to.

### **Malay sentiments**

The Malays during the years of independence, revered Tunku Abdul Rahman like nobody's business. Tunku Abdul Rahman was the most popular person in the country at that time. He was the founding father of the nation. He rallied all the races together and formed the Alliance. Umno, MCA and MIC forged a coalition and pushed for independence as a united Malaysians.

He went to London to negotiate our country's independence along with Tun Abdul Razak, Tun V. Sambathan, Tun HS Lee, Tun Tan Cheng Lock in 1954.

Prior to that, a joint Umno – MCA meeting was held to deliberate on this London mission. Tunku Abdul Rahman received tremendous support from the people and they showered him with wonderful send off gifts. Malay ladies showered the London delegation with money and jewellery while the future first Permaisuri Agung of Malaysia, Tunku Puan Besar Kursiah took off her bracelets and threw them from the balcony of the building (TAR, Political Awakening pg. 44). Thus, the delegation had enough fund to finance the long journey at that time.

Tunku was the symbol that freed the people from their colonial masters. He was the talismanic national hero who was determined to bring a future that was self determined by the country's own people.

He was indeed a popular figure.

However, Tunku was oblivious to the sentiment on the grounds. By the mid 60's, the PAP propaganda of Malaysian Malaysia had created much furore within the confines of Malaysia's social fabric. The very pillar of the nation cracked and stood precariously on an already unstable foundation. The incessant demands of certain Chinese chauvinists and the obvious plights of the Malays had caused friction between the two communities.

But all Tunku wanted was to be the happiest prime minister in the world. His dream shattered during those dark days of May 13, 1969. Tunku believed that he had done so much for the Malays back then. The Constitution which provided special privileges to the Malays in exchange of the citizenship for the non-Malays 12 years before was something he held dearly in his beliefs. He established MARA in the early 60's to help the Malays gain their footing in economy, professionally and in the public services.

He thought he had done enough. But the sentiment from the ground was different. The Malays felt that Tunku had not made enough inroads in alleviating the standard of living of the Malays. This was further compounded by the fact that racial politics was harped by the opposition parties back then to dismantle the Malays' special privileges. Day in, day out, the opposition back then questioned the articles within the Constitution that protects the Malay rights. Worse, Tunku was seen to be too lenient to these communist infected opposition. He only realised the modus operandi of the DAP when it was a little too late.

Nevertheless, resentment from the Malays grew towards Tunku. From the statistics below, the unfair balance of Malays participation in the government and economy can be further illustrated. Remember, this is before the implementation of the NEP (please click and zoom).

NINE		It is interesting at this point to compare the allegations with statistics of senior government officers among the various racial groups in the country.		Education Officers		the country's economic life, now begins to feel a threat to their place in the public service. No mention was ever made by non-Malay politicians of the almost closed-door attitude to the Malays by non-Malays in large sections of the public sector in this country.	
<b>RACIAL POLITICS</b>							
During the long election campaign, several irresponsible candidates took occasion from blatant instances of racial feelings as they occurred upon racial grounds. These opportunities ranged from one extreme, those who misquoted and attacked Article 153 of the Constitution, to the other, the exploited lines among the Malays that they would be overruled by the non-Malays. Even more extreme were those who questioned the historic right of the Malays to regard themselves as the indigenous people of Malaya.							
The dangerous baiting technique by speakers at the election rallies could be detected by the difference in the emphasis they placed in their speeches. The speeches for the benefit of English- and Malay-speaking audiences on the one hand differed in emphasis from those for the Chinese- or Tamil-speaking audiences on the other. The same technique was also used to regard to purports and misprints issued to the public. Venue-of sessions were especially designed to incite racial feelings.							
Allegations were also repeatedly made that the Malays were given privileges in government jobs to the exclusion of non-Malays and that the Malays controlled the administration and the unskilled services, particularly in Division One of the government services.							
Police (Excluding Armed Forces and the Police)		Malays ... 1,342 ... 36.2%		Malays ... 31 ... 29.5%		Total ... 113	
Non-Malays		2,238 ... 63.7%		Non-Malays		122 ... 30.1%	
Administration Services		Total ... 1,221		Police (Absolute figures withheld for security reasons)		Malays ... 38.7%	
Malays		796 ... 53.8%		Non-Malays		61.2%	
Non-Malays		515 ... 42.2%		Armed Forces (Absolute figures withheld for security reasons)		Malays ... 64.5%	
Professional Services (Excluding Education)		Total ... 1,908		Non-Malays		35.5%	
Malays		385 ... 39.2%		In the other Divisions of government services and in statutory bodies, the ratio of Malay to non-Malay officers is even less favourable to the Malays. The available statistics are in the lower ranks of the Armed Forces and the Police, areas of employment long avoided by non-Malays.		The above figures reveal the large extent of participation of non-Malays in the so-called Malay areas of government services. Allegations that the non-Malays are excluded are regarded by the Malays as deliberate distortions. The Malays who already felt excluded in	
Non-Malays		1,623 ... 84.8%		the country's economic life, now begins to feel a threat to their place in the public service. No mention was ever made by non-Malay politicians of the almost closed-door attitude to the Malays by non-Malays in large sections of the public sector in this country.		The Prime Minister questioned against those blatant appeals to racial feelings throughout the campaign. In a speech in Kuala Perlis on 15th April, he warned the Democratic Action Party not to tamper with Article 153 of the Constitution, "If they (DAP) try to do this there will surely be chaos and the prosperity which we non-Malay would be gone."	
Total		1,908		Certain non-Malay political election speakers occasionally vented on non-Malay positions against Malay politicians and officers, alleging partial treatment in the advancement of the law. They contributed directly to the breakdown in respect for the law and authority amongst sections of the non-Malay communities.		The long campaign did great damage to racial harmony in Malaya. Political parties in both extremes harped incessantly on "Bakpangsaan" on the one hand, and Malay poverty on the other. This was a dangerous development in a society so vitally identified along ethnic, cultural and economic lines. It also resulted in a stark upon large sections of the liberal Malay population, and placed segments of the non-Malay population, whose loyalty to the country was no longer in doubt, in a difficult position.	

Matters come to a head during the general election of 1969. The opposition grew bolder and the anti Malay elements in them [killed an Umno worker 2 weeks](#) before the general election.

### **Modus operandi of PAS and DAP**

As stated in the [first part of this series](#), in 1969 PAS and DAP had aggressively conducted a divisive and racial politics to gain more votes from the ignorant and gullible people.

PAS, in their election campaign will accuse Umno of 'selling out Islam' and the Malays to MCA. They accused Umno as un-Islamic and had gone astray from Islam's way of life. They say Umno will not establish an Islamic Nation since they were in league with the MCA. This made the Malay votes split into two and weakened Umno's popularity.

This extremist view was frowned upon by Tunku and he labelled PAS as a bunch of wretched hypocrites in his May 13 book. Moderation had always been the main principles of the Alliance and the pillar of success in multi racial Malaysia. But PAS tried to instill hate, using religion as their weapon to split the Malay votes.

But at the same time, PAS was cooperating with the DAP (who is a polar opposite to PAS) in an unofficial opposition coalition!

DAP meanwhile accused the MCA of selling out the rights of the non-Malays to Umno. In other words, DAP accused MCA of letting itself being bullied by Umno. DAP had used the same approach in gaining votes albeit though a reverse tactic. They accused MCA of being too soft when the National Language Policy was introduced a couple of years before. To the racist DAP, they could not recognise Bahasa Malaysia as the official language of the country.

They also pounded the idea that MCA was bullied into submission when Umno tried to pursue a more Islamic approach in governing the nation. Hence, this very racist approach of instilling fear and hate towards the Malays and specifically Umno made the non Malays shunned MCA and the Alliance. In the end, MCA lost a lot of votes during the election.

But in actual fact, it did not make any sense for the DAP to accuse Umno of being too Islamic and bullied the MCA while in the same breath PAS accused Umno of being too liberal and un-Islamic and betrayed the Malays to MCA! What was more ridiculous, PAS and DAP worked together in their unholy alliance of opposition parties!



How was this possible? Were the Malaysian population back then too stupid to realise this? Thank God today, the people are smarter (are we really?).

But sometimes I do wonder whether this racist modus operandi is still being practised by the opposition of today...

### **Outcome of the general election results**

The Alliance lost its two thirds majority in that election. The MCA was abandoned by the chinese. Tun Tan Siew Sin was so ashamed and embarrassed, he called Tunku immediately after the elections and declared that since MCA was abandoned by the chinese, the party will not accept any ministerial appointments for a handful of their surviving MPs. They will however, support the Alliance.

Tunku noted that with some sadness. What else could he do? The chinese chose not to vote a valid representative of their community in the government but instead chose to vote a racist opposition party which was not compatible with its own opposition partners. As the result, they lost their own ministers in the government.

Umno however, although being the largest beneficiary of the general election, had been magnanimous enough to include MCA in the cabinet in the aftermath of the election and the riots. Thus, moderation, empathy and genuine cooperation had always been the bedrock of a successful coalition of the country.

Selangor nearly lost to the opposition but at the last minute, Gerakan decided not to join the opposition's loose coalition. This enable Umno to form the state government on the basis of being the party with the largest number of seats in the state assembly.

### **Retaliation by the Malays**

After the arrogant, offensive and insensitive [victory parades](#) were held [by the opposition](#) the Malays decided that enough was enough. They had been on the receiving end of a cruel and racist insults for the last 4 days and the insults such as 'melayu babi balik kampung' was the straw that broke the camel's back.

## DEFIANCE

The common features in all these were the complete and deliberate defiance of traffic regulations, vulgar and obscene language and gestures, and deliberately provocative slogans attacking the Malays. A pattern of behaviour similar to the Maoist funeral procession of 9th May was evident. The marchers and those in cars and lorries displayed unbridled arrogance and showed nothing less than insolence towards authority.

The leaders of the Opposition parties, both Gerakan and the DAP, neither restrained nor denounced the behaviour of their party workers.

Despite these extreme provocations, the Malay communities in the areas most affected by these insults showed patience and restraint. However, they brooded on the fact that even with the winning of only a few additional seats the non-Malays, particularly the Chinese, had shown arrogance beyond belief. To the Malays as a whole, the events from the 9th to 12th May gave cause for fear over their future. On 12th May for instance, the restraint of the Police, and the freedom with which the Chinese flouted the law, caused the Malays to harbour doubts as to the willingness or ability of the Government to deal firmly with such lawless elements. A feeling of dismay and uncertainty, coupled with their memories of the 1945 kangaroo courts, swept the Malay community in the Federal Capital. On the morning of 12th May a group of Kampong Bharu UMNO youths met Haji Ahmad Razali bin Ali, an Alliance State Assemblyman, and told him that they wanted to hold an UMNO procession for the purpose of "showing to the Opposition Parties that the UMNO, too, had a good reason to celebrate, as they were not defeated in the State elections."

## REACTION

Haji Ahmad Razali made the following statement to the Police:

"On the morning of 12th May, 1969 I intimated to the Y.B. Menteri Besar, Dato' Harun, that the UMNO Youth of Kampong Bharu was desirous of holding an UMNO procession with a view to showing to the Opposition parties that the UMNO too had a good reason to celebrate as they were not defeated in the State Elections. I told the Menteri Besar that the UMNO Youth was greatly embittered by the behaviour of DAP and Gerakan members and supporters who, since the morning of 11th May, 1969, had been going about in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya shouting humiliating and insulting words at the Malays. In so far as the UMNO Youth of Kampong Bharu was concerned, the members would not have minded if the insults were thrown at the Alliance or UMNO. But, as I was told by many of the members, the insults, such as 'Apu Malaya boleh buat' and 'Malaya boleh buat jadi saka' were too hard for them to accept as they were directed to the Malays in general and not to UMNO or the Alliance. The Menteri Besar agreed to the proposal to organise an UMNO victory procession but warned me that the procession must be conducted in a legal, peaceful and orderly manner.

"On getting the Menteri Besar's agreement I told members of the UMNO Youth Kampong Bharu that they should rally as much support as they could as otherwise there was no point in organising a procession. They agreed to my proposal that the procession be held on the evening of May 13, 1969, to commence at 1930 hours. The assembly point was the Menteri Besar's residence.

"On the night of 12th May, 1969 at about 2130 hours I went along in my car to a number of Malay kampongs in Kuala Lumpur to contact UMNO leaders in order to gather enough support. The Kampongs I visited were Kampong Dato Keramat, Gombak (8) miles), Kampong Petaling, Kawasan Melayu, Kampong Haji Abdullah Hakom, Kampong Paudan Dalam and Kampong Jaya. I told them when and where the procession would start. I spent about four hours visiting the various kampongs.

"The response of all the UMNO leaders that I met that night was tremendous. They were keen to gather support and take part in the procession themselves. They said that insults such as 'Melayu sudah habis' and 'MARA boleh tutup' were unwarranted. Some of them told me that during their victory processions, many Gerakan and DAP supporters had made vulgar gestures at the Malays when passing through Malay areas . . . ."

Dato' Harun bin Haji Idris, the Menteri Besar of Selangor, related to the Police in a statement, that, "On Sunday, 11th May, 1969 at about 1900 hours, I returned to my residence in Kampong Bharu from a visit to Morib. The same evening a number of successful Alliance candidates came to my residence to discuss the formation of the State Government. However, as they were still preoccupied with the election results there was no opportunity to discuss anything positive towards forming a new Selangor State Government.

"That night I began to get telephone calls from persons who identified themselves as UMNO supporters, informing me of the behaviour of the participants of Opposition victory processions. Their conduct were regarded as insulting to the Malays. These calls continued to come until the following evening . . . ."

## Taken from the NOC report (i)

Dato' Harun then related how his Political Secretary, Haji Ahmad Razali, subsequently visited and informed him that a group of UMNO supporters who had arrived at his house had expressed their strong desire to hold a victory procession. Dato' Harun invited them to his residence and, in his statement, continued, "In the beginning I tried to discourage them from holding a victory procession by stating that something unoward might happen. However, after I was given the assurance that the procession would be held in a peaceful and orderly manner and that a Police permit would be obtained for it, I agreed to their suggestion about holding the procession. In order to lend respectability to it and ensure that the participants behave themselves, I agreed to take part and lead the procession. As I felt that I should advise the crowd before the procession commenced, I told them that the participants should assemble in my compound. I could then also take the opportunity to inform the Malays of my intention to form the State Government. Thus I might be able to allay any fear they might have on this matter . . . ."

After the threats and insults they had been subjected to on the preceding days the reaction of some Malays was so converge on Kampong Bharu.

According to Dato' Harun bin Haji Idris,

"On the morning of May 13, 1969 a meeting of successful Alliance State Assemblymen to discuss the formation of the State Government was held in my office at the Selangor State Secretariat. Later, I returned to my residence and stayed home for the whole afternoon during which I entertained many visitors who came to congratulate me on my election victory.

"At about 1700 hours two Chinese were brought to my residence by Talir Majid. They identified themselves as couriers from Dr Tan Chee Khoo. They intimated to me that the Gerakan would not enter into any coalition with the DAP and urged me to form the State Government. I told the two Chinese that they should go back and inform Dr Tan Chee Khoo to ring me back personally. Both the Chinese left immediately. When they left I received a phone call from V. David. He said that I should go ahead with forming the State Government as the Gerakan would not join the DAP to form a coalition Government. I was taken very much aback by what were said by the two Gerakan leaders as these were more or less contrary to what they have said as quoted in the local press earlier.

"The people who came for the procession first assembled in the compound of Haji Ahmad Razali and on the road in front of the said house. There were very few people in the compound of my residence . . . ."

By the afternoon of the same day, an announcement was made by Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia that the party would remain neutral in the Selangor State Assembly. This opened the way for the Alliance, the party that had won the largest number of seats, to form the next government in Selangor. At this stage, the Selangor UMNO decided that it would proceed with the proposed victory procession to celebrate the formation of the new Government. On the morning of May 13, the Police agreed to give the necessary permit, since a similar permit had been given to the Gerakan on the previous day. The Police had received an assurance that the procession was to be a peaceful one and,

at that stage in the morning, had not received any disquieting intelligence. The proposed procession was organised by the Selangor UMNO, and all its branches in the State were invited to send participants to congregate at the Menteri Besar's residence by 7 o'clock on the evening of May 13, and the procession was to have started at 7.30 p.m.

Some students from MARA College also joined the gathering outside the Menteri Besar's residence since they were also the targets of humiliation and ridicule during the "victory" processions of the DAP and Gerakan parties.

It was observed that the Malay would-be participants were highly emotional on the evening of May 13 as a result of the previous two days of insults and provocations. For some time rumours were rife in Kuala Lumpur that the UMNO procession would be attacked by certain Chinese elements that evening. The Malays were determined to retaliate if attacked. Some of them carried knives and parangs, anticipating a need to defend themselves should they be attacked during the procession. They were mindful of the fact that the procession was to be held in a city whose population was mainly Chinese. Some of those who were unarmed realised that they might need to protect themselves, and quickly improvised weapons such as sharpened bamboos.

While the Malays were gathered at the Menteri Besar's residence in Kampong Bharu, news reached them that some Gombak Malays, would-be-participants in the procession, had been attacked by some Chinese in Setapak on their way to Kampong Bharu.

## Taken from the NOC report (ii)



for protection when the opportunity arose. His words still echo in my memory;

*"Yes, you are Malay; I am also Malay. But this is where the similarities end. You have no responsibility. I am a police officer. If you cross that line, the same blood on both sides will flow!"*

The mob gave up their demands.

The brunt of the outbreak of violence which when once started in Setapak for whatever the reason ignited the situation in Kuala Lumpur.

The riots that was thought to be originated in Kampung Baru was in fact started in Setapak. Due to rumours and high tension, it escalated into a full scale riot in Kampung Baru and spilled over to adjacent areas.

However, Kua Kia Soong missed the whole event preceding the Kampung Baru riots when he solely relied on Bob Reece's account. Bear in mind, Bob Reece could not be at two places in the same time. That is why, one cannot be certain whether foreign journalists were being professional in their writings.

"Late on Tuesday afternoon (May 13), young Malays from the whole Selangor began to assemble outside the residence of the Selangor Menteri Besar, Dato Harun. A retaliatory march had been planned by the Umno youth to end in a rally at Suleiman Court near Batu Road, but police permission was withheld. While people were still assembling for this parade, trouble broke out in the nearby Malay section of Kampung Baru, where two Chinese lorries were burnt. By 6.30pm, a crowd was raging down Jalan Raja Muda towards Batu Road. Another group came out of Kampung Baru into Jalan Hale, another exit from the Malay section into the Chinese areas."

### **Tunku's thoughts on foreign observers**

Tunku had great apprehension on what the foreign media had to say about the incident. To him, he was greatly disturbed with the slanted reporting by the foreign journalists. From his own writing below, Tunku chastised the foreign journalists for being partial in their reporting and relying on rumours mostly.

Naturally, foreign correspondents look at events from an outside angle, because they do not live here all the time. They are not citizens of either Malaysia or Singapore. They drop in when they like and leave when they wish, so they cannot be expected to see events as we do. Their interests lie solely in providing news or writing articles that are as sensational as they can make them.

Throughout the world today violence breaks out in some form or another almost anywhere, whether it is in the streets of a city or on the campus of a university. So why not in Malaysia? They worse it looks, the more interesting the reading!

They were given every facility, as they have always had here, and with our excellent telecommunications their comments ran rapidly round the world. There was no censorship on what they wrote or telephoned, or on the photographs they transmitted by radio. In all good faith they received curfew passes to enable them to move about freely, but after a few days when it became clear that this privilege was being most callously abused, then the passes were withdrawn.

After I came to know of their disgusting display of irresponsible reporting I refused to give them an interview. They had already got all they wanted from biased sources and without even attempting to verify the truth of the story they were told. The damage had been done, and nothing I might say could then put the matter right. When one of them asked me what assurance I could give to Commonwealth countries that democracy would be restored in quick time, I told him to "Go to Hell".

Of course not all reports were irresponsible. There were some journalists among the foreign Press who tried to do a fair and conscientious job. My complaint is that the general run of coverage by many foreign correspondents was so scare-making as to be out of all proportion to what was actually taking place.

No effort at all was made to link up events immediately preceding the riots with the actual outbreak, such as the funeral procession or the "victory" demonstration. A riot does not suddenly come out of nowhere; it is an effect and must have a cause. The two must be related. Most foreign press reporters were extremely partial, their bias against the Government or in favour of one race showing plainly.

One Press man told me that it was cruel to inflict on those Chinese taking shelter in the Victoria Institution the presence of Malay soldiers who were also accommodated there, and that these refugees had asked to be taken out to safety elsewhere.

I promptly went to the Merdeka Stadium, next door to the Victoria Institution, intent on finding out the truth for myself. There I was told that everyone was happy and so I asked these people whether it was true that those accommodated in the Victoria Institution wanted to go elsewhere. "No!", my informants said, "We feel safer with the presence of the soldiers, and what is more we are getting free rations from them as well".

Surely they must have known that in the first place the Malays must have had reason to lose their tempers. They did not even bother to examine this aspect of the whole affair but instead placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Malays.

Please click and zoom for better view

Like I told earlier in the [first article](#), foreign media will have ulterior motives when reporting, be it to sensationalise news report, or simply the desire to see the situation worsen so that there are more news to report.

Tunku made no reservations when he wrote the May 13 book. Even the act of slandering the security forces had riled up the then Prime Minister. The excerpts below are important since it clearly had debunked all the hate filled comments received regarding the conduct of our security forces during the racial riots.

To add insult to injury they accused the Security Forces of killing innocent citizens mercilessly. We are extremely proud of the reputation of our Armed Forces. These foreign correspondents seem to have forgotten that all our battalions have served at one time or another in the Congo for the United Nations, where they won high prestige for their exemplary handling of the very difficult situation existing there over a prolonged period of crisis. So much so that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, sent a special envoy to see me and to thank Malaysia for the conduct of our men and the support our country had so readily given in trying to reach a peaceful settlement in the Congo.

All these years after independence we have had to face various emergency situations ranging from armed Communist insurrection, Indonesian confrontation to some mob demonstrations, and our Security Forces have shown devotion to duty in the best traditions of armed services anywhere.

Do foreign correspondents think that men who have won such a good name can possibly be capable of wantonly slaying innocent citizens? Instead of sympathising with the difficult problems the Security Forces had to handle, they preferred to attack them in the Press. This shows how biased they could be. Can you blame me or any other Malaysian therefore for being indignant about the tone and temper of the reports of the riots that appeared in foreign newspapers?

Taken from Tunku's may 13 book

The NOC report below gave a clearer picture of the situation concerning the security forces at that time. Kua Kia Soong's book gave too much prominence to foreign journalists' reporting it really became nauseating that he chose to see them as the ultimate truth bearers.

Army was called in to assist the Police to restore law and order. The first time that a company was sent into the area was at about 10:00 p.m. The company immediately contacted the Road Control Points at the junction of Jalan Hala and Jalan Raja Muda and the Sultan Abdul Aziz Road. When they arrived in the area the disturbances and overturned vehicles were already burning. Dead and wounded were scattered about.

A section from the company was detailed to investigate the Jalan Pekin area where it was reported that a clash between groups of Chinese and Malays was in progress. When the section arrived there, they managed to persuade the Malay crowd to remain in place. A Chinese man was shouting away from the crowd, and a Malay man was shouting away from the crowd. The Chinese man was shouting away from the crowd, and the Malay man was shouting away from the crowd. The Chinese man was shouting away from the crowd, and the Malay man was shouting away from the crowd.

The situation in the Capital had by then become increasingly uncontrollable and in order to deal with the situation effectively, it was decided to divide the City into two zones with the Military taking over the responsibility of the area east of the Gombak River which included such areas as Kampung Bharu, Chow Kit and Jalan Tunjari. Abdul Rahman, Mazlun and Military reinforcements were brought in from outside into Kuala Lumpur. Apart from separating rioters and enforcing the curfew, the security forces had also to cope with sniper fire. On several occasions Military patrols were shot at by groups of Chinese armed with shot guns and pistols. One of the Chinese groups, near the Chinese Embassy, was shot at by a group of snipers. The snipers had an advantage but the riot did not.

Although trouble seemed not to be a common clash between the Malays and the Chinese, the security forces which happened to compose mainly of Malays acted with great discipline and restraint. In their efforts to restore law and order peacefully, and to prevent trouble from spreading, there might have been incidents where innocent members of the public were harshly treated. But under the circumstances they were understandable.

If members of the security forces had in fact been partial on purely racial grounds as alleged by some quarters, considering the dimension of the disturbances and the number of security forces deployed, which was in the order of 2,000 Military and 1,000 Police, total casualties amongst the race which was said to be the "target" would have been enormous.

There were also allegations of widespread looting by members of the security forces, and the Royal Malay Regiment has been specially singled out for censure. Investigations revealed that from May 13 to July 31, 1969, only 7 persons had lodged reports of looting by persons thought to be members of the security forces. These were isolated cases of relatively minor nature, considering the magnitude of the disturbances and the number of security forces deployed. All such reports have been referred to the Criminal Investigation Department, Selangor.

There were also rumours and foreign press reports to the effect that victims of the riots were buried in secret and unmarked mass graves where they could never be identified. According to these reports, drunken soldiers and sailors were employed as grave diggers. The facts are as follows: the majority of bodies could not be handed over to their relatives for burial because of the lack of any identification, the unlikeliness and highly decomposed state they were in, the need for time-consuming autopsies, finger-printing, photographing, tagging and other means of identification, as well as the same important consideration of not allowing anything to further inflame an already ugly racial situation.

Police and hospital officials worked on the identification and recording of the bodies and buried them in such a way as to enable relatives and friends to take care of the victims for reburial at some later stage or at least to know where they were buried. Towards this end the bodies were buried with identifying tags and identical markers above them. One hundred and two persons thought to be non-Malays were identified and individually buried with identification tags over the graves. In Sungai Buloh on 18th, 20th,

21st and 22nd May. There was no chance of telling these facts. Eighteen persons who could be identified as Malays, irrespective of racial origin, were buried in Chowkit on 18th May. On 2nd June one more body was discovered and brought to Sungai Buloh for burial. Eight identifiable bodies of persons who originally came from non-accident areas were handed over to their relatives for burial.

The choice of burial grounds was made by the Ministry of Health based on the relative absence of incidents in these areas. Burial of both Malays and non-Malays was done largely by General Hospital attendants, the Sungai Buloh Leprosarium staff volunteers, Malay labourers from the nearby Sungai Buloh Civil Police Station and Municipal labourers. They were supervised either by Police Chief Inspector Phang Lian Tuck, or Police Chief Inspector Shamsuddin who brought the bodies from hospital mortuaries in Police trucks. At no time were soldiers involved, let alone drunken soldiers, as alleged. On one occasion, according to Mr. Kok Haw Wah, a security steward at the Leprosarium in Sungai Buloh, three soldiers and eleven students from the University of Malaya, also assisted in the burial. Mr. Kok Haw Wah was responsible for receiving the labourers for all burials at Sungai Buloh.

There was speculation that at least two thousand died during the disturbances. This highly inflated figure is probably due to the widespread rumours then circulating, and also related to the number of enquiries of missing persons. In the case of missing persons, many were "missing", as that there were more than one report lodged by relatives and friends for one missing person. (See Appendix for statistics relating to the disturbances).

Taken from the NOC report

## The conspiracy theory

There was also a theory which had slandered Tun Razak, Harun Idris and Tun Mahathir for working together, orchestrating the racial riots in order to depose Tunku from being Prime Minister.

On page 325 of the book *The Struggle for Malaysian Independence*, Dato J.J. Raj stated:

Years later YAM Tunku, in his weekly article in the local newspaper, *The Star* dated Monday August 5, 1985 had this to say:

*"The police refused an application to hold a funeral procession on May 10, the actual date of the election. The Police refused permission but the Government, without my authority or knowledge, gave permission to hold the funeral procession one day before the election, but restricted the size of the funeral. I was in Alor Setar when I was contacted during the funeral procession.*

*I was surprised that the authority, whoever it was, had given permission for the procession to be held which attracted thousands of communists and their sympathizers. Many communists had been killed before, and no such grand funeral had been allowed. How was it that this time, it was allowed? The purpose, I found out later, was to embarrass me. When I probed further into this, I found that it was done by the same source that had spread rumours against me and the intention was to use this incident to topple me."*

In that interview, Tunku stated that the permit for the funeral procession on May 9th should not be given at all due to the current political situation at that time.

As the police was under the purview of the Home Affairs Minister, naturally Tun Abdul Razak was to be blamed for this occurrence.

Many HAD GUESSED that Tun Razak overruled the police's decision because he wanted to topple Tunku. Some EXTRAPOLATED even further that Tun Razak orchestrated the whole incident so as to give the justifications for the Malays to run amok and kill the chinese racists. Due to lack of evidence, we really do not know.

But what I do know is, from the sentiments of the racist political supporters of the Labour, DAP and Gerakan parties at that time (read [part 1](#) and [2 please](#)), even if there were no permits been issued out, the funeral procession would have been held anyway. The anti police, anti Malay sentiments were sky high at that time after being instigated by the irresponsible opposition leaders.

Plus, since the general elections were to be held on the 10th of May, Tun Razak did not want to jeopardize the voting trend towards the Alliance party. To withhold the permit may cause the Alliance to lose more votes in the general elections (try withholding the permits for BERSIH, HINDRAF and Anti PPMSI rallies and imagine what the opposition would have done).

Nevertheless, I am not privy to what Tun Razak was thinking back then. But one thing for sure, the unequivocal fact is, which Tunku had also missed was, the racist anti Malay jeers accompanying the funeral procession did not cause any immediate retaliation from the Malays. If indeed Tun Razak had planned for the Malays to run amok as soon as he gave the permit for the funeral procession, history had shown otherwise.

Eventhough the racial tension shot up to stratospheric levels because of that procession, no untoward incident happened on the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th. Hence, the theory above which had said Tun Razak gave permission to the funeral procession to overthrow Tunku was inconsistent to say the least.

Therefore, Tunku's and other extrapolations made from Tun Razak's action are deemed as conjectures only. It would have been different if Tun Razak had approved the opposition's [victory parades](#) after the general elections. But from the reports [we had read in the previous article](#), most of the victory processions were illegal anyway.

Tunku's original thoughts on the funeral procession was etched in his writings below:



The Police received an application to hold a funeral procession on May 10th, the actual day of the Elections. The motive behind this request was plain, the elements who had taken charge obviously intending to create an incident which would disrupt the elections, or even prevent polling taking place at all.

Quite rightly the Police refused permission to hold the funeral on that day, but after pleas made by the parents of the deceased and by the Labour Party leaders in Kepong to give the man an honourable funeral, the Police agreed to allow the funeral to take place on May 9th, on the express condition that the procession would only follow a certain route, and that those attending the funeral or following the hearse should be limited to a small number of mourners. In other words, the burial ceremony was to be treated as any other normal funeral.

In a sense the hands of the Police were tied. The next day would be Election Day. Obviously in the national interest it was essential that nothing should occur to mar the elections. While it was the standing duty of the Police to keep law and order, they obviously had no wish to

provide potential hostile forces with any excuse for causing trouble.

The family was legally entitled to hold the funeral, the normal practice being to obtain permission for a procession from the Police. This was part of the Malaysian way of life, and in fact in Kuala Lumpur hardly a day goes by without a funeral procession of one kind or another in some part of the city. The fact that the arrangements for the funeral had been "handed over" to the Kepong branch of the Labour Party and to other elements far outside family connections was not one which the Police could object to, although of course the significance of the "take-over" was not lost on them.

Taken from Tunku's May 13 book (please click and zoom)

In the book 'Surat Dari Dr Mahathir' by Zainuddin Maidin, had given us the insights on what happened after Dr Mahathir was singled out for being the thorn in Tunku's leadership and was expelled. On page 25, it stated:

Keruncingan hubungan Dr Mahathir dengan Tunku Abdul Rahman terus memperhebatkan lagi gelora politik tanahair terutama dalam kalangan orang Melayu selepas peritistiwa 13 Mei. Tunku menganggap [surat Dr Mahathir](#) kepadanya yang tersebar luas di seluruh tanahair sebagai memusnahkan seluruh pengorbanannya terhadap negara dan bangsa sejak 17 tahun lalu.

Ini mendorong Tunku memberikan kata dua kepada Umno. Pilih "saya atau Dr Mahathir".

Apabila Timbalan Presiden Umno, Tun Abdul Razak menyampaikan kata dua ini kepada mesyuarat Majlis Kerja Tertinggi (MKT) Umno di Sri Taman pada 12 Julai 1969, Harun Idris berkata,

*"Tun (Razak), kalau begitu, buat apa panggil mesyuarat ini, buang sahajalah Mahathir".*

Pandangan beliau disokong kuat oleh Ketua Kaum Ibu Umno, Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim dan juga Pengerusi Pemuda Umno Negeri Kedah, Syed Nahar Shahabudin.

Tun Abdul Razak seterusnya memberitahu bahawa Dr Mahathir sebagai ahli MKT telah melanggar tata tertib parti kerana membuat kenyataan kepada umum tentang perkara yang sangat penting mengenai parti.

Now, if Tun Mahathir, Harun Idris and Tun Razak had worked together in orchestrating the May 13 riots, why then did he **was sacked by Tun Razak**? Even Harun Idris did nothing to save Tun Mahathir from being sacked at the time. All the racist, hate mongering people like RPK and Kua Kia Soong had in fact confused themselves with post May 13 events and tried really hard to implicate the three of them so that all the current non Malays will hate Umno leaders in totality.

In fact, racial riots and Tunku's anger towards Mahathir were two SEPARATE incidents. Tunku's anger towards Mahathir only surfaced in mid June right after Mahathir had written a private (which later became public) letter to the Tunku. This famous letter became the thorn that had eventually led Mahathir to be sacked in July (a full two months after the riots). Tunku never accused Mahathir of masterminding the riots either.

What I had stated above regarding Tun Razak, Harun Idris and the Kampung Baru clashes really coincide with what Tan Sri Abdullah Ahmad had stated in his speech on May 13th 2009. It was reported by RPK in his [article here](#). There was no inclination whatsoever that implied Harun Idris and Tun Razak had masterminded the whole incident (from the funeral procession to the Malays' retaliation).

Tun Razak did not plan the victory parade nor was he the one that started the riots in Setapak. Yes, Setapak was the place where the riots started.

Therefore, to call our great statesman, Tun Abdul Razak as the architect of May 13 is really a racist act indeed.

### **The National Operations Council**

There was a laughable attempt by Kua Kia Soong to slander Tun Razak by attempting to equate the great man as someone who was bent on achieving total Malay totalitarianism in the country. On page 90, Kua Kia Soong stated:

From this secret document from the British Cabinet Office, we note that barely a week after the riots flared, the CIA had figured out what Razak was planning, i.e. to change the Constitution to formalize Malay dominance, sideline the Chinese and shelve the Tunku:

*"In introducing Adrian van Huizen to speak to us on this subject at today's CIA briefing for the Commonwealth Liaison Officers... he expressed their main conclusions as follows.*

*He said that the Malaysian government was faced with two broad alternatives. They could come to their senses and seek some accommodation with the moderate Chinese elements and draw new forces into the government from the Chinese community. Alternatively, they could continue with the present Malay-dominated emergency rule, possibly toned down a little, but leaving the Chinese unable to improve their political position and so probably driving them further towards the Left and the use of violence. As of now, van Huizen thought it likely the Malaysian government would follow the latter course.*

*From all Razak had said it seemed he believed that any attempt at accommodation with the Chinese would cause the Malays to lose the "power-edge" they maintained over the Chinese. If the Malays lost this, Razak seemed to believe that the more dynamic Chinese would eventually take over. This, Razak seemed to determined to prevent and it seemed possible he might propose changes in the Constitution to formalize Malay rule. Van Hizen also said that the Tunku's position was very important. He thought the Tunku would probably be shelved, although not just yet."*

This van Huizen person should be one of the first intelligent officers of the CIA to be sacked for getting wrongful information about the whole situation.

However, Kua Kia Soong took this 'secret' document and tried to misinform the Malaysian public about the fact of the matter. First, he postulated that Razak would disengage the Chinese from the government after the riots. Secondly, Razak did not want to accommodate the moderate Chinese since he wanted total control of the government.

But I won't be surprise if the gullible readers would believe such notion. The matter of fact was, Tun Razak included non Malay leaders in the NOC such as Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun VT Sambathan. Even though the unwise Chinese voters back then had abandoned the MCA for the racist DAP, Razak still included their leaders in the eventual cabinet line up. Remember, Siew Sin had stated earlier that he would not want the MCA leaders to be in the cabinet as he felt MCA had failed the Alliance. Surely, the spirit of accommodating one another was honestly done in pursuit of the nation's well being.

Thereafter, much to the chagrin of the foreign observers, the Alliance under Tun Razak sought to correct the economic imbalances, repaired the goodwill and harmony between the races after it was damaged by the racist opposition and prevented the country from being condemned to the dustbin of history.

Secondly, should Razak had any autocratic tendencies, he would have prolonged the Emergency rule under the NOC indefinitely. In fact, he could have easily ousted Tunku Abdul Rahman during the Umno Supreme Council meeting that saw the sacking of Dr Mahathir. But he did not. Hence, the document above which Kua Kia Soong had selectively taken to include in his book had run on wrong premises. It was merely a conjecture of the CIA and a flimsy effort to slander Razak as an autocratic leader. Read that dispatch again please.

One of the most peculiar notions about the book is trying to show its readers that the relationship between Tunku and Tun Razak was not congenial and distant. On page 108, the book stated:

In this secret British Cabinet paper, it is clear that Razak's complete control of the government was by then (i.e. 19 May) an open secret:

*"There are reported to be some 10,000 refugees. Local newspapers had been suspended but have now been allowed to resume publication under censorship. Foreign correspondents have had their curfew passes withdrawn for alleged partiality of reporting. There is some evidence that the military but not the police discriminated in favour of Malays in enforcing the curfew. Some opposition political leaders are said to be among those arrested.*

*The exact relationship between Tun Razak and the Tunku is not clear. In public says he is directly responsible to the Tunku but he has made it clear privately that he is completely in charge of the country. This could mean the beginning of a process of withdrawal by the Tunku as an effective PM."*

But in actual fact, Tunku respected Tun Razak as the most able person to helm the NOC. He unreservedly showered praises to Tun Razak in his book:

Our duties and responsibilities were clear. The best man suited to carry out the major work was Tan Razak. It was my belief that with the assistance of members of the Cabinet, of the Security Forces, of Government Service and of all good citizens, our job could be achieved in good time.

I was therefore prepared to step down a rung or two to give Tan Razak full authority to carry on with the important task, but I still remained Prime Minister, and thus responsible for the prosecution of the Emergency, Tan Razak being in continuous consultation with me.

Attempts at character assassination against Tan Razak had been made by a certain section of the Chinese in the past by saying that he disliked the Chinese, in other words that he was anti-Chinese. I have known Tan Razak for many years, both as a colleague and a friend, and during all my experience as Prime Minister I have always found him to be a nationalist and a patriot, and a person who is both dedicated and far-sighted.

I will go much further than this by saying that the association of Tan Razak and myself is unique in this country's history. Our partnership throughout all these years of independence has been inseparable, bound by mutual ties of understanding and respect. We are such close friends, both in and out of office, that we are mutually dependent on each other, he being able to seek my counsel at any hour of the day or night, or I to turn to him for advice whenever and wherever it is needed. If I am called "Raja Malaysia", the "Father" of my country, then Tan Razak is one of the engineers of our independence.

Tan Razak's work during the Emergency alone proves his capacity and dedication beyond all doubt. He, along with the other members of the Cabinet, will give me all to see that everyone will live in peace and harmony with one another and free from fear.

Tan (Dc) Ismail's gesture in returning to the Cabinet at this time of national crisis was a true and noble act, typical of the character of a man who is deeply loyal to both his country and his colleagues, a spirit which I am happy to say has, with a few minor exceptions, always permeated the members of the Alliance Cabinet, whose teamwork and co-operation is a remarkable achievement in itself.

On the evening of May 15th a report came through that an incident had broken out in Malacca, in which one man was killed and another injured. I immediately arranged for a helicopter to take me to Malacca on the morning of May 16th.

On arrival at Malacca airport I was rushed straight to Police Headquarters, receiving a briefing there, and then visiting the scene of the incident.

According to the Malacca Police, Chinese thugs set upon two Malay tradesmen peddlers in Jalan Bandar Kubu, beating them up so severely that one died later, but the other managed to escape. Luckily the Police were on their rounds at the time, so they immediately gave chase. The thugs fled into a block of flats pursued by the Police, and in no time a capture was made.

On the afternoon of May 16th, after my return from Malacca, I called a meeting of Ministers at the Residency at which Tan Razak was formally appointed as Director of Operations, his appointment being gazetted the following day, May 17th.

At this meeting, too, I detailed other Ministers to look after specific jobs relating to the new Emergency, such as supervision of food supplies, formation of Vigilance Corps and dissemination of correct and true information to the public.

But that day was not yet over for me. My most important task had yet to come. That night I drove on Television Malaysia, a script in my pocket which was historic, probably the most significant message I had ever written since I was involved in the composition of our Declaration of Independence twelve years ago. I was about to tell the people of Malaysia and the world that, after three days and nights of killing and arson, there must be an end, once and for all, to the growing toll of lives and damage to property.

I had a profound feeling of despondency in my heart, but at the same time I was very conscious that what I was about to announce was the only right and proper action to take in the dire circumstances overwhelming in all which the entire country had to confront and overcome. In that studio I was going to declare a State of Emergency throughout the nation.

## Taken from Tunku's May 13 book

There are many other contentious matters in his book which require further attention. For instance, the book took a malicious turn when it questioned the Rukunegara on page 118 and 119. I am appalled that Kua Kia Soong would find in his heart to question the content of the Rukunegara just because it was Ghazali Shafie who had formulated it. Again he took Bob Reece's article to help strengthen his agenda. To me, if you do not agree with the contents of Rukunegara, please state the reasons why, instead of covertly trying to instil hatred among your readers towards the nation's ideology.

### The aftermath of the book

We have now debunk the conclusions the book was trying to propagate.

- 1) Tun Abdul Razak masterminded the May 13 racial riots as a form of coup d'etat from Tunku Abdul Rahman – *false conclusion*
- 2) Datuk Harun Idris led Umno Youths to spontaneously launched an unprovoked attack towards the chinese people – *false conclusion*
- 3) The racial riots were not the fault of the racist opposition or the subversive communist movement – *false conclusion*

In reviewing this book, I have come to the opinion that it was intended to ultimately create resentment among the Chinese to the Malay leadership in Umno. That was its entire reason for existence. All the slanted views,

misinformation, wrong conjectures and jumping into conclusions were done purposely to achieve that end.

Now as the outcome, whatever the government does, will be deemed as racist because this book had made very profound racist outlook about the whole matter. To completely censor all the blame towards the racist DAP back then whilst at the same time exaggerate the Malays participation during the riot had clearly created a wave of gullible racist among the younger generation. They became racist because they had inadvertently loathed the Umno leadership.

The enmity towards Umno had become so severe that even when the son of an MACC director was caught in Australia for having porn materials, the blame was put squarely to MACC, Umno and BN! Certainly this is not relevant at all. What is going on in the family has got nothing to do with BN as a whole. Is this the kind of people we would want as citizens? Filled with misplaced hatred towards anything that is Malay?

What more, they had become misguided in hating one of the founding fathers of the nation. Yes folks, Tun Razak was one of our founding fathers (he went with Tunku to negotiate our independence in London remember?) and I find it revolting to smear and tarnish his legacy due to one man's insidious racist agenda. It is of no surprise that he is a DAP member. DAP had been one of the major instigators of the riot and the book was trying very hard to clear its name.

These articles will try to put back into perspective all the things that were wronged by the book. People tend to forgive and forget and let bygones be bygones. But the effort to distort history and lay blame on others, especially when the blamed one could not defend himself as he is no longer here, is very distasteful indeed.

Now I implore any peace loving Malaysians to re-study Kua Kia Soong's book in great detail so that the propaganda created from it will be extinguished and racial harmony can once again regain its proper place in our social fabric.

This book can be singled out as one of the main source of all the resentment between the main races in this country (just read all the hateful comments from the articles – they were all referring to the book as their source of information). It is unfortunate that many believed that this is the definitive history when in fact it was nothing more than a malicious effort to smear our founding fathers' names.

Tun Abdullah during his sleepy years at the helm, under the pretext of freedom of speech, had allowed this book to be published. It is amazing that Pak Lah, as a member of the NOC had not read this book prior to its release.

At the very least, there should be a counter argument for the book produced by professional historians. Why did the government agree to unleash a book written by a DAP racist into the market without even producing a better rebuttal?

Why did Tun Abdullah allow the name of his former boss to be soiled under the weight of massive racist propaganda? Why Najib Tun Razak and his brilliant advisers fail time and time again to debunk this book? For each day this book sitting happily on the shelves without any other manuscript to challenge it, his father's reputation will become maligned each day. He must have the skin of rhino to be able to face his mother every time he visits her while out there, a travesty is being committed under his father's name.

Our nation is made from a potpourri of ethnicities. The approach of dividing the nation through racial hatred instead of racial harmony had been the modus operandi of the opposition since Independence. The Alliance had proven to have the best formula towards racial harmony. Respecting the Constitution had been its greatest asset. All parties in the Alliance fight for all the articles in the Constitution. It is the greatest law in the land where the main purpose of its existence is to create the best balance to achieve racial harmony.

Whenever the BN leaders mentioned about the May 13 incident, they were not implying that blood will be spilled (although their choice of words could be better). This is what the racist opposition would want the unassuming people to believe. May 13 needs to be remembered because racism and unhindered freedom of speech will cause unrest in this multi racial country. That is why we have the Sedition Act. The Act is solely to prevent the people from being too extreme in their views.

Now, in the aftermath of the 1969 incident, and after the propaganda of Kua Kia Soong's book is hopefully debunked, what now for the nation? Like I proposed in the first article, **National Harmony Day** should be celebrated on May 13 every year to remind ourselves how blessed we are living in a land where moderation and acceptance are the keys to national success in whatever there is to come. We should learn that, when hatred and resentment towards each other is no longer existed, we can now look forward towards building the nation with so much rigour, trust and mountainous sense of pride in our history.

Our founding fathers and leaders of the past had painstakingly upheld their selfless deeds and worked hard in making our Malaysia a successful nation. The greatest achievement we had was to live in harmony in the face of so many malevolent foreign and domestic challenges. We should not dirty this greatest achievement just because of a certain racist and political agenda.

Like the wise words I learned from school – “A society which does not look back with pride upon its past can never look forward towards its future”.

Till this day, I still remember those words.

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